692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the court-
yard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation
[262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share
of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten
[783 with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of
776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close
to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and
the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have
sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While
789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered
326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "še-pa, še-pa! Da rgod-
cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then
old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child
on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking
bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan
or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been
with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep
away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra.
It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant
danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!"
The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the
yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near
the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt some-
thing like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child
for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort
was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea
and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small
silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter
into the bargain.

●852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to
the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the
carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf
and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in
between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the
mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically
rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a
dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then
the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

latter, amid continual murmuring of magical and exorcizing formulas, 752
cut off a lock of the child's hair and threw it away as an offering, in order to make the gods favorably disposed towards the child. For this the lama received a few silver coins.

Little Drogpa Namgyal thrived visibly; his cheeks and his limbs 753
became rounded and the women of the house were agreed with aunts, cousins and women of the paspun-ship (Sib) on this point: In the whole of Kalatse and surroundings, yes, in entire Lower Ladakh (so said he very wise) there was not another child so pretty as the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal. Over this there was joy and pride in the circle of relatives. But beauty is a dangerous privilege: A pretty face draws glances upon itself, and these glances are not always friendly. Grandmother Tsering Putrid had seen quite clearly the other day how Chondsom from the Cat's-mouth house (bi-la-k'a) had given the child a completely evil look of jealousy. She also knew precisely why she had done so. The woman had a child who was as ugly as a little owl. /27/ The following night little Drogpa Namgyal had screamed continually. That woman had, of course, wished something evil upon the little one and this was now making itself felt. The grandmother had immediately taken her daughter-in-law to task and had blamed her for her carelessness. Such pretty children should not be exposed without protection to the glances of one's neighbors. Aside from the customary amulets on the coat and on the cap, a black soot stain on 751
the forehead wards off the Evil Eye. Thus, for the first three to four years of his life, the little boy always had his face made unsightly by an ugly soot spot. Immediately after his first sickness his mother affixed a new amulet to the boy's cap. This amulet consisted of a small slip of paper folded together, on which the lama had written a number of magical and exorcizing formulas, in part in Tibetan, in part in Sanskrit, and in part just a meaningless series of mystical Sanskrit words, as defense against the wily demons and against the Evil Eye. This slip of paper was sewn into a little bag of red wool and was hung to the cap by a string. Year after year, as the perils to young life increased, new amulets were added: now a red one, now a yellow one, a blue one, then also a silver one, until more than a dozen of such little bags and capsules swung from the coat and the cap of the ten-year old boy. The matter in the end did not turn out to be so expensive after all: for each of the amulets the father had had to pay the lama four to six annas (35 - 50 Pfennig), depending on the size of the misfortune that was presumably threatening. The

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song * and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following:

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month.

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang.

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the " tying-on " of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants ? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child ! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival ? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

At the end of two years the lad's head is shaved, all except a piece of hair, which is the rudiment of his pigtail, and which is now carefully preserved, dressed and well-greased with butter; this being an occasion, it is celebrated gastronomically and no doubt alcoholically.

We now come to the nuptial ceremonies, but it is quite unnecessary to wait for them till years of discretion have arrived, nor does Cupid have much to do with the wounding of Ladaki hearts, although even here there are occasions when the flight of his arrow is mortal. The women of Ladak enjoy a perennial leap-year, for in this country it is as becoming for a woman to be the aggressor in matters of marriage as it is for a man, and perhaps, in this respect, we are "the wrong way round" after all. When the lady is the active party, the husband brought to her house is called a *magpa*, but if she is taken as a bride to his house, she is called a *gnama*. The property belongs to the active partner, irrespective of sex.

Three methods of getting married are sanctioned by custom. The first has of necessity fallen into disuse since the Ladakis were conquered by the Dogras. It was the prerogative of any rajah or ruler, who wished to reward a man for services rendered, to grant him the power of choosing any girl he liked in the country as his bride. Thus a man of low degree could aspire to the hand of a great lady.

The second method is frankly to steal the chosen partner. The selection having been made, only relatives are admitted into the secret. No big wedding-feast is prepared, just a small one is made where the native beer or *chang* alone is unlimited. Grand wedding-garments are not permissible, and the actual ceremony is very simple, consisting merely in the bride and bridegroom each donning a very small white head-dress, called the *mgo ras*, while there are no religious rites. The *gnama* or *magpa*, as the case may be, has to say "*zhu-le*" to everybody, friend or no friend, hence the proverb: "The bridegroom or bride must say '*zhu*' even to the cat or dog."

584 593 [104] the same property, which is built especially for that purpose. This custom is known as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

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4. Kyin-go-pa (*K'hyi-mGo-pa*), "Dog-headed one".
5. Ödsal-lha-pa (*aOd-gSal-lHa-pa*), "Luminous, clear god one".
6. Dzes-pa-pa (*mDzes-pa-pa*), "Lovely one".
7. Nyishara-pa (*Nyishar-ra-pa*), "Sunrise one".
8. Yige-pa (*Yige-pa*), "Letter one".
9. Gyan-shing-pa (*rGyan-shing-pa*), "Betting wood one".
10. Trang-tug-pa (*Grang-t'hug-pa*), "Cold soup one".
11. Tarrawa-pa (*Tar-ra-ba-pa*), "Buttermilk one".
12. Sumpo-pa (*gSum-p'ho-pa*), "Thrice male one".
13. Langtso-rü-pa (*Lang-ts'ho-rus-pa*), "Adolescent clan one".
14. Kyungo-pa (*K'hyung-mGo-pa*), "*Garuda* headed one" (the Garuda is the Hindu mythical bird).
15. Jamshar-pa (*aJam-shar-pa*), "Mild shining one".
16. Leh-pa (*sLa-pa*), "Man from Leh" (in Ladak).

Of these, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 16 of course, are also to be found in Ladak, and the Lahuli clans of the same name are related to those in the neighbouring area of Kashmir.

Clan exogamy was the rule, the Wazir told me, and there were very few even today who dared to transgress this injunction. There had been a marriage within the Lönchen-pa clan, it seemed, but its members had found it very difficult to live down; they had been held up as objects of ridicule in the whole of Lahul ever since.

7. OTHER RELEVANT POINTS INVESTIGATED

Being keen to investigate the psychology of polyandrous people, I also sought, while in Lahul, to gather data which appeared to me could have a bearing on the psychological structure of the individuals involved. Consequently I enquired from the Thakur about initiation ceremonies and paid a number of visits to medical men to question them on nervous ailments in their practices.

Thakur Partap Chand told me that when a son was born to a family, a special ceremony took place which my notes call phonetically *Gotsu* (probably *mGo-aDzug*, "beginning") in Tibetan. It should be remembered that at the time, I as yet knew no Tibetan and was forced to take down names and words as they appeared to sound to me – a process highly unreliable in that language as differences of meaning often depend on spelling and not on pronunciation. When the boy is not yet twelve months old, on the day of the Tibetan New Year (usually in February), he is strapped onto his mother's back and taken up to the

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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

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846 852 604 292 headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present. 603

184 302 There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 551 A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

191 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do